

- **LABOR CHALLENGE - 1972 - articles by Ross Dowson** (or under pseudonym *plus key movement articles*)

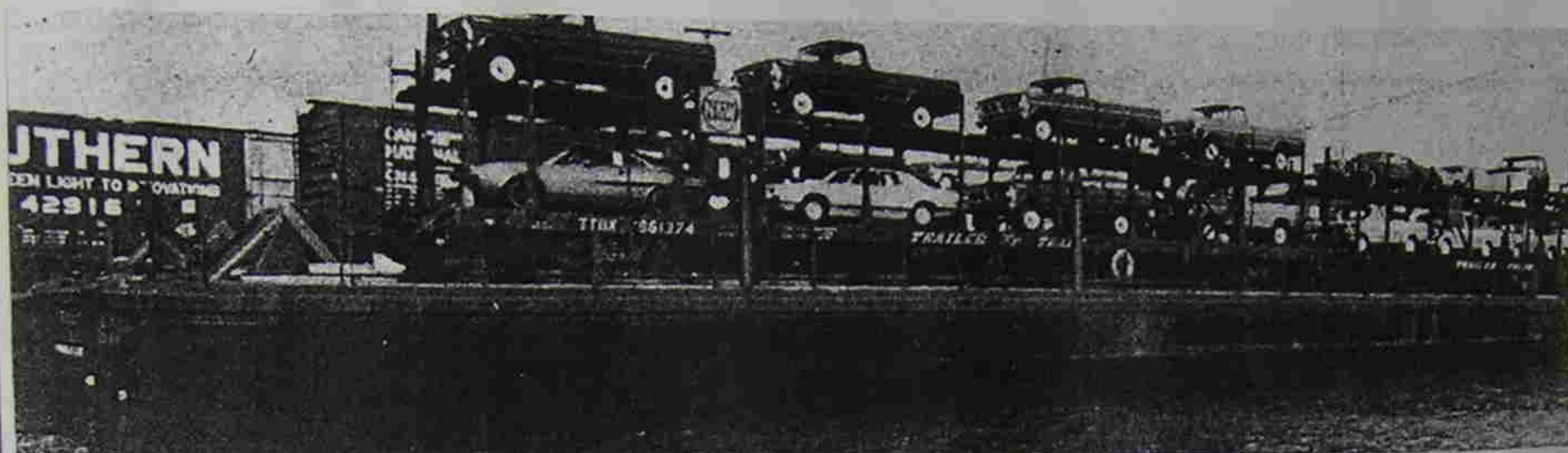
- 02\_14<sup>th</sup>-1a\* **LC #49** Is U.S. out to kill Canada's industry?, by Ross Dowson (Washington wishes to re-negotiate the Auto Pact and other 'irritants.' )
- 02\_14<sup>th</sup>-1b\* (continuation) It is the unfavorable trade balance that concerns Washington; the NDP Waffle's made-in-Canada auto as "sheer fantasy"
- 03\_17<sup>th</sup> **LC #52** (edit) Readers pledge over \$22,000; *Labor Challenge* expansion drive
- 04\_10<sup>th</sup> **LC #53** (statement of the PC, LSA/LSO) LSA on Argentine kidnapping (terrorist politics similar to Quebec FLQ)
- 05\_08<sup>th</sup>-1a\* **LC #55** Will Trudeau fight U.S. domination? *Labor Challenge* interview with Ross Dowson
- 05\_08<sup>th</sup>-1b\* (continuation) Canada is no colony of the U.S.; the NDP Waffle's lack of program
- 05\_08<sup>th</sup>-1c\* (continuation) Canada is an important part of the N.A. market; Photos: The Amchitka (protest) explosion; Trudeau and Nixon
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-1a **LC #57** Trotskyism and the NDP, based on a speech by Ross Dowson (the NDP leadership denounces all left tendencies as one)
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-1b (continuation) LSA challenges leadership's dogmatic devotion to parliamentarism
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-2a (4 pp.) A suppressed page in Canada's history, by P. Kent (Canadian participation in the Spanish Civil War)
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-2b Photo: Norman Bethune inadvertently reveals his pacifist views
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-2c (continuation) Photo: The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion -- a machine gun squad
- 06\_05<sup>th</sup>-2d (continuation) Photo: Canadians in the trenches at Teruel; How the C.P. betrayed the revolution
- 06\_19<sup>th</sup>-1a\* **LC #58** Mass action strategy centers on NDP, by Ross Dowson
- 06\_19<sup>th</sup>-1b Photo: Mass movements center on NDP: antiwar activists addressed by T.C.Douglas
- 06\_19<sup>th</sup>-1c (continuation) Photo: Ontario NDP convention: the mass political expression of independent working class politics
- 07\_03<sup>rd</sup>-1a **LC #59** British labor upsurge reverses Tory offensive, by Ross Dowson; Photos: Jailing of unionists blocked, mobilizing against anti-labor bill

- 07\_03<sup>rd</sup>-1b (continuation) The government retreats; the showdown battle ebbs
- 07\_31<sup>st</sup> **LC #61** Minority splits from LSA/LSO, by Ross Dowson (group around Michel Mill in Quebec)
- 08\_21<sup>st</sup> **LC #62** (editorial) Labor to power with the NDP! By Joan Newbigging, Vancouver LSA; What the NDP stands for; Photo montage
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-1 **LC #65** LSA-LSO elects new executive secretary (John Riddell succeeds Ross Dowson who becomes Chairman
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-2a (5 pp) Trotsky: his life, his relevance today, from a speech by Ross Dowson
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-2b (continuation) (advertisement for selection of books by Trotsky)
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-2c (continuation) Photo: Ross Dowson
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-2d Photo montage: Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution in practise
- 10\_19<sup>th</sup>-2e (continuation) Bolshevism; the Transitional Program

#### **LABOR CHALLENGE - 1972 -SELECTION**

- 06\_05-1a Trotskyism and the NDP, based on a speech by Ross Dowson (the NDP leadership denounces all left tendencies as one)
- 06\_05-1b (continuation) LSA challenges leadership's dogmatic devotion to parliamentarism
- 06\_19-1a Mass action strategy centers on NDP, by Ross Dowson
- 06\_19-1b Photo: Mass movements center on NDP: antiwar activists addressed by T.C.Douglas
- 06\_19-1c (continuation) Photo: Ontario NDP convention: the mass political expression of independent working class politics
- 08\_21 (editorial) Labor to power with the NDP! By Joan Newbigging, Vancouver LSA; What the NDP stands for; Photo montage





**AUTO PACT SELLOUT?** Under auto pact, production at high-efficiency Canadian plants far exceeds needs of Canadian market. Here assembled in Canada arrive by ferry at Detroit boatyard.

# Is U.S. out to kill Canada's industry?

by Ross Dowson

For well over a year, Canadian civil servants and Liberal party office-holders have been negotiating a review of the Canada-U.S. auto pact and what Washington calls other "irritants."

Soon we will have some, if not all, of the details. Will we find that Trudeau has sold out Canada's "national" interests — that he is, as some claim, nothing but a lackey and stooge of the giant U.S. corporations which now command the key industrial heights of the Canadian economy?

Or will we find that Trudeau has stood firm as a leader of the Canadian people, defended their interests as a "nation", regardless of social class, and turned back what some allege is Wall Street's drive to crush the developed (and essentially U.S.-owned) sectors of the economy and transform Canadian workers into hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The fears expressed in various circles of Canadian society pose many questions about the nature of this society: what interests Trudeau and his government represent and what their real relations are with the ruling class of the United States; whether forces other than the working class can change this society; what the strategy of the working class must be, etc.

What is at dispute, we are told, are the terms of the auto pact worked out in 1965 that established a duty-free North American market at the manufacturing level for cars, buses and trucks. The auto industry, almost entirely U.S.-owned, underwent considerable expansion on the Canadian side of the border since

the signing of the pact. It is the largest manufacturing industry in Canada, accounting for one-third of all U.S.-Canadian trade. Some units, such as the Ste-Therese and St. Thomas operations, are the most modern on the continent.

The U.S. government is proposing to suspend two safeguards under the pact which stipulate that the proportion of Canadian components in the Canadian-built cars be maintained at least at the 1964 levels, and that the ratio of motor vehicle sales in Canada to production in Canada not fall below the 1964 level.

In other words, from the point of view of tariffs and balance of payments, the deal between the big U.S. auto bosses' operations in Canada and their operations in the United States — their planning of the duty-free North American market, as agreed to by the Canadian government — worked against the interests of the U.S. treasury department, against the interests of the U.S. capitalist class as a whole as measured by their state machine. And they want to renegotiate it to get better terms.

The U.S. government also wants the Canadian government to end restrictions that block Canadians from buying their cars, including used ones, in the United States, at prices considerably lower than they are now paying to Canadian dealers. In addition, Washington is asking Ottawa to raise the duty-free exemption on goods purchased in the U.S. by Canadians.

In both these cases, they want U.S. merchandising interests to get a

better cut into the Canadian market at the expense of Canadian merchandisers. The fact that Canadian workers have always wanted cheaper, duty-free U.S. goods, as they were promised at the time of the auto pact, doesn't seriously enter into the negotiations. But of course it could be used to get Canadian working class acceptance of some clauses that less apparently and less immediately hit at their interests.

Following World War II the U.S. decided to prop up the Canadian economy and to maintain its capacity to produce military hardware by cutting it into a defense production sharing arrangement. Canada's production of military equipment, much of it designed for use against the Vietnamese people, has also resulted in big profits for various Canadian corporations. It has contributed to a current U.S. trade deficit with Canada and, as it

→ to page 2



happens, employment for Canadian workers.

It is the unfavorable trade balance that concerns Washington. In violation of the agreement the Canadian government, when buying military equipment for its own use in the Congo, Cyprus, Korea, and who knows where next, has been giving Canadian companies a 10 per cent preference. The U.S. wants this preference to cease. Canada, it says, should purchase more U.S.-produced military equipment to cut down the unfavorable balance of payments that Canada has with the U.S. — some 509 million dollars worth to be paid for from the pockets of the Canadian taxpayers.

On one side of the conference table in the current negotiations are the representatives of U.S. imperialism, the mightiest organized power in the world, attempting to reconcile the conflicting interests within the American ruling class and to maneuver between contradictory interests in the Canadian capitalist class. The conflicting tensions are lessened by the fact that U.S. capitalism already has control of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy; moreover, successive Liberal and Tory governments have for a long time performed the valuable service of solidly backing Washington's foreign policy, no matter how cynical, brutal and dangerous to humanity.

Who sits on the other side of the table? If they were nothing but lackeys and stooges of U.S. imperialism there would of course be no negotiations. An order would be uttered; the "negotiations" would be at best a pretense.

If it is a subject of debate just how much of the Canadian economy the Canadian capitalist class control, there is no doubt about their existence. Ask the Quebecois about Anglo-Canadian capitalism. Furthermore, all one need do is scan John Porter's book *Vertical Mosaic* to get their history and their names and biographies.

If they do not have the power and the arrogance of U.S. State Department officials, Canada's representatives do not speak for an enfeebled, humbled bourgeoisie that is attempting to establish its hegemony over a nation being formed in the process of a national struggle for independence. The Canadian ruling class are firmly in control of the Canadian state apparatus. They are not only capitalist but imperialist to boot, with extensive imperialist holdings in the

Caribbean, Latin America and other sectors of the capitalist world. Arranged in struggle against them is a working class organized in trade unions and in its own political party, the New Democratic Party.

They and their political representatives are not at all confused as to their interests. Whatever comes out of the negotiations, their interests, and not those of the working class, will be the determinant.

Of course they are getting lots of free advice such as that coming from Professor Abraham Rotstein, a leading spokesman of the Committee for an Independent Canada and editor of *Canadian Forum*.

Rotstein recently told the *Toronto Star's* Ottawa editor Peter Desbarats, "The paradox here is that people like myself, who have no particular sympathy for Canadian business are now engaged in this exercise of trying to save Canadian business from itself."

But his next words revealed that the real direction of his advice was not to capital but to labor. "The only hope of this country now is to set aside ideological tensions about socialism and capitalism and to begin to restore a Canadian sector of our country. We can decide later how we're going to cut the pie up."

But the leading spokesmen of the Canadian capitalist class have a clear and incisive understanding of their interests. They are pursuing in their relationship with the United States ruling class a policy of "interdependence," or what has been described by some as a partnership, of necessity, a junior partnership, with the U.S. colossus.

External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp, with his long experience in the civil service and membership on the board of Canada's largest single imperialist holding Brascan, told *Toronto Star* editor Desbarats on Jan. 29 that what he called Canada's interdependence of trade with the U.S. "has developed enormously because it was on the basis of the North American market that we built up our industrial capacity."

Neil German, president of the Chamber of Commerce has advocated a free trade relationship with the U.S. on "the fact of life" that "Canada is utterly dependent on the American market." Sharp scored this idea before the Vancouver Board of Trade, arguing that such a course would "take us from interdependence to utter dependency in a very short time."

At the turn of this year the National Energy Board rejected an application by big U.S. oil interests for the export of natural gas, on the grounds that Canada had no surplus over its own needs. On Feb. 3 Sharp

felt impelled to protest to the New York members of the American Management Association that many U.S.-based multinational corporations "continue to be more imperialistic than international and to treat their foreign operations as colonial outposts of the home office."

Canadian business, contrary to the advice of the Committee for an Independent Canada, does not need to be saved from itself. Its leading representatives, in identifying their interests with the world-wide reactionary policies of the United States, have alienated the broadest layers of the Canadian population. This powerful sentiment, which is essentially anti-imperialist, needs to be developed in an anticapitalist direction through the adoption of a conscious strategy by the New Democratic Party and the trade union movement. This strategy must above all be continentalist.

The NDP and Waffle must deepen their identity with the U.S. anti-Vietnam war movement and oppose Canada's continued complicity in that crime. The Canadian union movement must strengthen its connections with the U.S. labor movement. The struggle for union democracy and for Canadian trade union autonomy must be seen not as a move to cut off, to separate from the American labor movement, but to fight more effectively within such internationals as Steel and Auto.

In the age of the multinational corporation, labor needs a multinational and international strategy. Canadian labor cannot allow itself to be played off against American labor by their multinational bosses. And to dismiss the U.S. working class and their unions as having no perspective for anticapitalist struggle is to dismiss the only force that can really settle accounts with our common exploiter.

To project at this time a made-in-Canada auto industry is sheer fantasy. It is to admit to having no program. The Canadian working class will have taken power and be well on the way to socialism before such a thing could come to pass.

And having taken the power, instead of turning the clock backward in an attempt to develop some kind of autarchical, self-sufficient economy, in association with other sectors of the workers world, we will develop to the full the world-wide division of labor realized under capitalism only in a rudimentary and unconscious way. Thus the resources found in the various lands across the globe and the varied cultures and skills of its peoples will be united to become the common inheritance of all.



## Labor Challenge expansion drive

# Readers pledge over \$22,000

by Kate Alderdice  
fund drive coordinator.

With the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive in its third week, we already have enough money promised to put us over the top. Last issue we asked our readers for a minimum of \$21,000. Your pledges to date total \$22,300!

This is by far the largest amount ever raised by our readers to support Labor Challenge. But money pledged is not the same as cash in the bank, and there are only five weeks remaining in the drive to make Labor Challenge a 12-page paper.

Labor Challenge has something to offer that no other paper has. Our paper is written by activists, for activists. We're right in the thick of the struggles of

## WORKERS' WORLD



First issue of Workers World August 17, 1921.

1921. It was Workers World that carried the campaign in the 1920s for the formation of a mass workers party.

The Vanguard, organ of the International Left Opposition in Canada, also forms an important part of our heritage. Its first issue, published 40 years ago in November 1932, greeted the fifteenth anniversary of soviet power in the USSR. It exposed the crimes of the Stalinist regime and issued a call to Canadian revolutionaries to organize against the betrayal of the Bolshevik revolution.

Increasing the size of Labor Challenge by one-half, from eight to 12 pages, will make us more able than ever before to carry forward our revolutionary traditions. That's what the fund drive is for.

## THE VANGUARD

Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada

### Hail 15 Years of Soviet Power!



First issue of Vanguard November 1932.

women, Quebecois, native people and working people against their oppression. We're part of the movement against the Indochina war and U.S. domination of Canada, and the fight to put the NDP in power.

Not only does Labor Challenge tell you what is going on in these movements, we also provide activists with an analysis and a strategy to win.

But perhaps what is most unique about Labor Challenge is its tradition. We trace our origins back to the revolutionary paper Workers World, first published 50 years ago in August, 1921. Its first issue carried articles defending the new revolutionary regime in the Soviet Union, on the unemployment crisis, and the question of trade union and political organization for the working class — the big political questions facing the working people of Canada in

So help yourself. Make your contribution to the Labor Challenge Expansion Drive today, and we'll send you facsimile copies of the first issues of Workers World and the Vanguard.

## Scoreboard

Area	Pledged
Vancouver	\$6,200
Edmonton	1,000
Saskatoon	300
Winnipeg	250
Kitchener-	
Waterloo	100
St. Catharines	100
Hamilton	200
Sudbury	300
Orillia	150
North Metro Toronto-	
Richmond Hill	1,000
West Toronto	5,300
East Toronto	6,100
Ottawa	200
Atlantic Provinces	250
General	850
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22,300</b>

clip and mail to

Labor Challenge Expansion Drive, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont.

Enclosed is \$100 — \$50 — \$20 — \$10 — as my contribution to help make Labor Challenge a 12-page biweekly. Send me facsimile copies of Workers World and the Vanguard.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ ZONE \_\_\_\_\_ PROV. \_\_\_\_\_

→ to col (1) right

→ to col (2) right



# LSA on Argentine kidnapping

The following is a statement of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

On March 21 the general manager of the Argentine branch of Fiat Concorde was kidnapped by commandos of the ERP (Ejercito Revolucionario del Pueblo — Revolutionary People's Army). Their action has aroused wide attention across the world, including Canada where an action similar in many ways was carried out in October 1970 under the banner of the Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ).

The violence in Argentina today clearly originates from the repressive measures carried out against the masses by a dictatorial regime.

Argentina has been under military rule almost continually since 1955. The present military junta of General Alejandro Lanusse has crowded the jails with political prisoners. Union and student militants have been abducted and secretly killed by the police.

A worldwide solidarity campaign is now underway to protest torture and repression in Argentina and to aid its victims.

Under the influence of guerrilla strategies such as those carried out in other parts of Latin America by Che Guevara in Bolivia or the

Tupamaros in Uruguay, many revolutionary militants in Argentina have staked their hopes in dramatic actions by small groups. Such actions, they feel, can spark the masses into moving to overthrow the dictatorship and taking power into their own hands.

Similar thinking motivated the FLQ kidnappings of Pierre Laporte and James Cross in Quebec in October 1970.

Carried out by a handful of persons in the name of the FLQ, the two kidnappings were seen by many in the Quebec left as a spark which would ignite a revolutionary upsurge in Quebec. In the first days following the kidnappings, considerable sympathy was evident for the demand of the FLQ — liberation of political prisoners. But these actions by their very nature sought not the participation or mobilization of the masses but their applause.

The LSA-LSO said at the time that "the FLQ has substituted the isolated actions of a small handful for the mass political action of the working class, the only road for Quebec's liberation."

Reducing the masses to the role of spectators, the kidnappings created the conditions for a massive wave of government repression. Quebec was occupied with 7,000 troops; civil liberties were suspended; over 500 persons were jailed, including

leaders of the LSA-LSO.

It was only after months of concerted cross-country and international campaigns to defend civil liberties and to expose government sedition trials that the mass movement recovered in Quebec. It did so through a series of mass actions around the defense of political prisoners and through independentist demonstrations which expressed the deepening nationalist consciousness of the Quebecois.

This experience has been indeed "exemplary" for the entire left and nationalist movements in Quebec and Canada.

The ERP action, like that of the FLQ supporters in Quebec, reduces the masses to the role of spectators. It avoids the necessary consistent work of bringing the masses into struggles around a program linked to their most urgent economic, social and political needs.

Our recent experience in Quebec convinces us all the more that rather than involving the revolutionary forces in mass struggles, such actions separate the revolutionaries from the masses, thus posing a block on the path to building a revolutionary party. The task in Argentina as in Canada and Quebec is the construction of such a party capable of leading the working class in the struggle for power.



# Will Trudeau fight U.S. domination?

The following is an interview with Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere. Labor Challenge asked Dowson to explain how Canadian Trotskyists view Canada-U.S. relations.

What can we expect the government's new foreign ownership policies will be when they are announced in the next few days?

It is possible, in view of the stalemate over the auto pact that the U.S. treasury is demanding be renegotiated, and the recent disclosure that U.S. goods, subsidized under the Domestic International Sales Corporation plan to make them more competitive with Canadian produced goods are now coming across the border, that there will be some dramatic-appearing legislation. At minimum the Trudeau government will announce the establishment of some guidelines — a set of rules under which U.S. corporations will be expected to operate.

But we can be sure that there will be nothing that will reverse the increasing domination by U.S. corporations of the Canadian economy. At best there could be some legislation that might tend to slow the process down a bit. And we can be absolutely positive that there won't be any moves by

Ottawa in the direction of developing what might be called Canadian independence from Washington, or Canadian control of the Canadian economy.

President Nixon came through with what Trudeau, when he returned from Washington last December, described as a "fantastic breakthrough", when he came to Ottawa this month Nixon pledged to respect Canada's separate identity, Canada's "right to pursue its own way" and Canadians' right to shape "their own destiny."

Of course! What could he have been expected to say! The Trudeau government and Liberal and Tory governments for some time before that, have placed Canada firmly behind U.S. imperialism's worldwide counter-revolutionary role. Trudeau is not Allende and such giant U.S. corporations as ITT do not operate here as they do with State department support in Chile. Canada, except perhaps for Quebec, is considered by Washington as one of the most secure countries in the world for U.S. investments. Canadian capitalism sees its overall interests as being inextricably linked to the fate of U.S. capitalism.

Do you think that the Trudeau government has sold out to the U.S. State department?

Well, Trudeau is certainly not defending the interests of the Canadian working people on these matters or anything else. He makes a pretense of doing so — and in the next period, as we approach the elections, he will be working harder on this. But there is a steady mounting skepticism across the country. Each successive statistical report on the percentage of foreign controls of the Canadian economy has widened the fear among Canadians that Canadian governments are less and less in control of Canadian society. These figures of U.S. domination of the economy have lessened the credibility of Canadian governments and raised sharper than ever before, questions as to who actually does rule Canada, how did we get into this situation, and how do we get out of it.

Whose interests is the Trudeau government defending?

Ottawa is defending not the interests of the Canadian working people but the interests of the Canadian capitalist class. In fact insofar as there are conflicts between the Canadian and U.S. capitalist class, Trudeau has stood up for the former and tried to get the best deal, to maintain the best working relationship possible. He has attempted to reconcile the interests of the Canadian and U.S. ruling class, to establish a partnership in the exploitation of Canada's natural wealth and her work force. Of necessity in view of the wealth and power of the U.S. ruling class, it is that of a junior partnership.

In an extensive and free-wheeling interview with Charles Lynch of the Ottawa Citizen last October, Trudeau, after noting that U.S. control of oil and petroleum stands at 95 percent and control of manufacturing at 60 percent, stated that "we wouldn't like to go up to 99 percent" in the former or 80 percent in the latter. As a government he said "our minimum posture is to maintain the status quo."

He then asked a series of questions of the United States. "Let us say you don't want to have a trade deficit with us, therefore you want to sell us more than you buy from us. Yet we have to pay interest and dividends . . . how are we going to pay for it if it's not by selling you goods. And if it's not by selling you goods, are you going to buy up more and more of our country . . ."

"I think we are forcing them to come to grips with that problem," he continued. "I don't think that they would admit that they're

→ To page 2



behaving as capitalists the way the Marxists say they are behaving."

But that is exactly what the Americans, the American capitalists are doing . . . not through any malicious desire or plan but due to the very working of the system as analysed by the Marxists.

Since you say that the U.S. is an imperialist power and has that relationship with Canada — is Canada a colony?

By no means! Canada has a highly developed capitalist economy and is imperialist to boot. The Canadian capitalists themselves possess an internal colony in Quebec — an oppressed nation within the borders of the Canadian state — and have extensive imperialist holdings in South America, particularly in the Carribean. Thus Canada is both an imperialist and an imperialized nation. Such a situation is by no means unprecedented, in fact it was that way with Russia of the Czars prior to 1917.

The increasing awareness of the U.S. exploitative relationship with Canada has resulted in widespread anti-U.S. imperialist sentiments right across Canada. This has become one of the most important facts in Canadian political life. This awareness has been rendered more acute by the profound revulsion against the genocidal war that the Pentagon is waging with such ferocity against the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Nixon's cynical detonation of a nuclear bomb on Amchitka off the B.C. coast on November 6 saw over 100,000 Canadians take to the streets in protest — the most massive mobilization yet to be seen in this country. In response to an appeal from the B.C. Federation of Labor, thousands of workers in the mines and the mills downed tools in a political strike, in a massive "Shutdown for Survival."

The Canadian government itself has had to respond to this mounting consciousness — but only with words. It has conclusively demonstrated its incapacity to stand up against the U.S. juggernaut. As Trudeau told the Ottawa Citizen, his government seeks only to "maintain the status quo" that is disappearing under his feet. Neither the Canadian bourgeoisie themselves nor any part of them have any role to play in the struggle against U.S. domination of Canadian society.



Ross Dowson

But there is also the Committee for an Independent Canada supported by such prominent Liberals and Tories as Walter Gordon, Edwin Goodwin and others and campaigning for Canadian economic and cultural nationalism.

The stance of the Trudeau government has tended to send this committee into at least a temporary eclipse. Walter Gordon used the Committee as a sounding board for his anti-public-ownership and anti-international trade union ideas. Its prime purpose would appear to have been to deflect the radicalization from going to the New Democratic Party whose attractiveness has been enhanced by the rise of the left wing current called the Waffle, organized around the Manifesto For an Independent and Socialist Canada.

Melville Watkins' statement to the effect that "There can be no meaningful nationalism unless it is the nationalism of anti-imperialism. And any move towards independence is futile unless it is at the same time a move towards socialism" directly applies to the Committee for an Independent Canada.

What has been happening to the Waffle? The Waffle, now being harrassed by the NDP leadership, has had difficulty developing a consistent policy or meaningful

demands.

Certain forces within it have tended to counterpose Canadian national unionism to the international unions, rather than identify with forces in the international unions that are fighting for rank and file control against the Union bureaucracy and for autonomy for the Canadian membership. In the age of the multinational corporations — the giant U.S. corporation spanning both sides of the border — it is necessary to strengthen the international character of the union movement. National unions are by no means a necessary first step in that direction. Many Canadian national unions while autonomous, are just as unresponsive to the rank and file, as caught up in business unionism, and as bureaucratized, as the international unions.

The Waffle's now defunct campaign around the auto pact and for a Canadian car, was projected around two concepts. That the Trudeau government would ignominiously capitulate before U.S. Treasury pressure and agree to the scrapping of all the safeguards, and that the policy of U.S. imperialism with regards to Canada, in the face of its developing monetary and world trade crisis, had taken a sharp turn towards withdrawal into fortress United States and the de-industrialization of Canada.

There was no basis for either speculation. The Trudeau government has taken a firm stand against any serious revision of the auto pact. Already faced with widespread unemployment in auto, the largest manufacturing industry in the country, he could do no else. U.S. capital has no intention of plowing its colossal investment in Canadian industry into the ground and having Canada revert into a resources pool. Its holdings in Canada are among its most efficient, competitive and profitable in the entire world.

→ to page 3



Canada is an important part of the key continental North American market, highly accessible and with the same built-up demands as the U.S. market. The aim of U.S. imperialism is not to retrench, particularly in Canada, but to maximize its profits.

These projections led some Wafflers to claim that the Canadian capitalist class had been smashed by the U.S., that Canadian imperialism is a myth — that Canada is a colony — and to project the concept of developing a self-contained economy — a Canadian car. This is a false picture of where it is at and can only divert the whole struggle.

To meet the developing crisis of capitalism, the cost of which will be thrust onto the backs of the workers, it is necessary to develop a program that takes the working class forward in anticapitalist struggle — towards socialism.

Where the U.S. takeovers result in phasing out of certain operations and plant closures, on the decision of their profitability to U.S. corporate heads, it means to place them under public ownership, retool them if necessary to produce needed goods, under the control of the workers.

It means to deepen and widen the mass movements, the repeal of the anti-abortion laws campaign, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the struggles for student and faculty control of the universities, the fight for Quebec independence — and the linking of these struggles with the union movement which is the base of the NDP on the way to a workers' and farmers' government in Ottawa and the provinces.



AMCHITKA EXPLOSION Windsor students close border Nov. 3, 1971





The following article is based on a speech by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière to the St. George (Toronto) NDP constituency association meeting of May 17, 1972. Dowson was introduced by David Middleton, president of the constituency association and NDP candidate in the last provincial elections.

Trotskyism has long been an issue in the NDP, and before that, in the CCF. The League for Socialist Action, known among the tendencies on the left as Trotskyist, a term derived from the name of Leon Trotsky who launched on a world-wide scale the struggle against the Stalinist corruption of Marxism-Leninism, thinks that it is inevitable and only correct that Trotskyism should be a continuing issue in the New Democratic Party.

The development of a class analysis of Canadian society and the projection of a socialist solution to the working people of Canada is the Number One challenge before the NDP. Trotskyism, with its developed class struggle program and its revolutionary internationalist strategy, is the only consistent theory of socialism.

Unfortunately this is not the way Trotskyism usually appears, particularly on the official levels of the NDP. The term is most often employed as a bogey — as a smear — a form of red baiting by the reformist leadership of the party against its left wing opponents in the party.

Uppermost in every NDPers mind right now is the campaign that has been launched by the Ontario party leadership against the broad left wing current called Waffle. The Waffle has been charged with being a party within the party. It would seem clear, from even a superficial examination, that what is involved here is whether tendencies are going to be allowed to exist and effectively advance their ideas up to and including changing official party policy and the leadership — whether the party is going to be genuinely democratic. Along with that charge is another, supplementary, but an equally if not more important charge.

Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis charges the Waffle with providing a forum for what he calls "extremists" — like Maoists, and Trotskyists — whose views he characterizes "are not dissent but destruction — not ideological but pathological."

This charge has essentially two purposes: (1) to smear and thus isolate the Waffle with the vicious



# Trotskyism and the NDP

McCarthyite device of "guilt by association." The Waffle is a haven for Trotskyists, who are smeared as pathological opponents of the party, and thereby must itself be infected with such evil.

And (2) to attempt to divert the Waffle from presenting a common front against its accusers, to try to turn the Waffle in on itself with a witchhunt in its own ranks that might split it and render it impotent before the right wing's assault.

To top it off Lewis throws the Trotskyists into the same heap as the Maoists. Now of course anyone who walked down Toronto streets during the last election could not help but be aware, from the posters that they slapped up everywhere, that the Maoists consider the Liberals, Tories, Social Credit, along with the trade union-based NDP, to be all the same.

What then is the real attitude of the LSA to the NDP? Its views are readily available in three publications, one in French,

Liberation, and two in English, Labor Challenge and Young Socialist. Two of them are monthlies, the other is a twice monthly. This fall we will commence the publication of a theoretical journal.

The position of the LSA with regards to the NDP is one of unconditional support. Prior to the founding of the NDP 11 years ago we conducted a big campaign to convince socialists of all opinions to get into the new party. The LSA was launched on the eve of the formation of the NDP, not as a party, challenging the NDP for the adherence of the working class, but as a league of socialists who took as their fundamental orientation the struggle to win the NDP to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

Our position, while laying down no conditions or terms, has nonetheless been of a critical character.

We think that the program of the party is completely inadequate to the needs of the struggle that the

→ to page 2



working class are involved in against the capitalist rulers of this country. Its fundamental character is reformist. It merely attempts to eliminate some of the worst aspects of the capitalist system, to patch it up, and make it more tolerable. When what we actually need is a revolution, a fundamental change in productive and social relations, and a program that will take the popular struggles forward to the establishment of a new socialist order where the working people will through democratic councils, own and control the productive plant in this country and plan production for use.

The League interprets the support that a growing body of Canadians give to the NDP as not signifying a commitment to reformist ideology but rather as a stage in their political evolution from bourgeois politics, to independent class politics, on the way to socialist action. The leadership of the NDP, however, not necessarily as individuals but as a social category, is quite a different matter. They are convinced reformists, of essentially the same type who in Germany, at the head of a massive social democratic movement, adapted and eventually capitulated, even placing their own heads in the noose of Hitler's hangmen. This can be best illustrated by their dogmatic concept of parliament.

All socialists including revolutionary, class struggle socialists, would prefer the realization of a socialist society by peaceful means. No great transition in history has ever been achieved peacefully — no ruling class heretofore has ever left the stage of history without resorting to the most

desperate and most violent struggle — even threatening to take all society down with it. There is no reason to believe that the capitalist class of North America, who resist modest union demands so bitterly, armed with the H-bomb and faced with the loss of the very source of their wealth and power at home, would peacefully depart from the scene should the revolutionary aspirations of the masses rally a majority in a parliamentary election.

The problem is not that the NDP leadership oppose extra-parliamentary action. Under certain circumstances they are prepared to employ it with great vigor — but only as a device, distinctly supplementary — as a form of pressure, to increase their weight in parliament or the weight of parliament itself within the state apparatus.

The NDP leadership affirm parliament and bourgeois electoral politics as the only road to social progress, when the ruling class everywhere have shown themselves in no way committed to parliamentary democracy. In times of crisis they are prepared to treat it as a mere facade covering over the real power structure, hiding the state apparatus constructed to defend bourgeois property — by any means necessary — including force and violence.

We no longer need refer to Spain, Germany or the Winnipeg General Strike and Section 98 — we have the experience of Quebec, October 1970.

By a simple act of four cabinet ministers, after an hour's work on documents signed and dispatched by the governor-general, Canada

awoke on an October morning to find the institutions of parliamentary democracy completely swept aside, and the army and police in charge.

The LSA sees parliament and electoral campaigns as an important area of activity, but as a propaganda forum and a test of ideas. For us, the new social order can only be constructed through the self-action of the masses themselves.

The LSA does not pull its program out of the air but shapes it through a scientific analysis of the objective situation in Canada and the world. It finds the elements for its realization in the real forces that are already in struggle against capitalism and are in the process of moving into struggle.

That is why we have given priority to the struggle of opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese and Canada's complicity in this war, why we participate with considerable energy in the women's liberation movement and are trying to widen its scope and develop its anticapitalist thrust with those forces that see anti-abortion law repeal as the key issue.

So committed to parliamentarism and to federalism are the NDP leadership that they have blocked the movement across Canada from identifying with the right of self-determination of the Quebecois, and in Quebec itself with independence. Thus they have deprived the Quebecois of the benefit of the Canadian experience in independent labor political action, compromised the very concept itself, and have sunk the NDP as a force in Quebec, which ironically is key to federal governmental power, for years to come.

The character of the NDP is such that it cannot establish socialism in Canada. Serious socialist forces cannot be built, cannot be educated, gathered together and accumulate essential experiences solely on the basis of NDP activity. The progressive content that resides in the New Democratic party over the next period will be wasted unless the influence of the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière is widened and its forces strengthened.



# A suppressed page

by P. KENT

Over the period of 1936-38, some 1,200 Canadians, in defiance of the Canadian government — Ottawa, passed a new Imperial Foreign Enlistment Act making their act a criminal offence — slipped out of the country for Spain.

On July 31, 1937, with all the appearance of neutrality, the same august neutrality that the King government observed in its refusal to sell arms both to the Spanish government and to the fascist insurgents who were being generously supplied by Hitler and Mussolini, Ottawa applied its Act to enlistment in either Franco's army, or in the Republican army.

On August 10, 1937, the government moved to halt the issuance of passports "except under definite restriction and guarantees." But the volunteers continued to slip out, even though now their passports bore the notation "Not Valid in Spain."

By various means they made their way to Paris and thence to the borders where, after evading French patrols under order of the Popular Front government headed by "socialist" Leon Blum, they were forced to scale the Pyrenees to get to their objective. Some attempted to complete their journey by boat, like the 20 who embarked from Marseilles on the Ciudad de Barcelona — only to have it sunk from under them by a torpedo fired by an Italian submarine.

Half of them died in battle.

When those who survived prepared to return to Canada the RCMP challenged that they should be barred as they "had either committed a breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act or were engaged, contrary to the policy of the government, in the Spanish War."

Immigration, however, ruled ironically, that "in most, if not all, instances, the nature of the absence from Canada would be inconsistent with an intention of settlement abroad." And after many difficulties they found their way back to Canada — on the eve of the Second World War.

## A Forgotten Episode

When in Spain they had been part, as the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, of the International Brigades that had been recruited from across Europe for the fight against the forces of fascist General Franco. These brigades, largely

composed of French, Polish German, Austrian, Italian, along with American, British and Belgian workers, were some 35,000 strong.

What type of Canadians were they, what caused them to not only freely volunteer but to overcome such difficulties as were put in their way at every turn, and if necessary, lay down their lives in a land that none of them knew?

Anti-fascists to be sure. But nothing more? Their determination, their dedication, their heroism is hard to understand from the explanations of the decaying Communist Party of Canada which attempts to cloak itself in their neglected glory. According to CP leader Tim Buck in a 30th anniversary memorial article (1966) "they were in fact the advance guard of the victorious army that the government did send over eventually to help defeat the fascist attempt to enslave mankind."

But the government opposed the vanguard! And as for its victorious army — the Canadian army of World War II — one of its most significant characteristics was its scepticism of the government's declared aims, which Buck continues to slavishly give credence to.

Victor Hoar, in the epilogue of his 240 page study of The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion that appeared last year, gives us no insight on this question. He states that "The fact that these men sought to delay or even halt the encroachment of totalitarian political dynasties is lost in the confusion and paradoxes of political allegiances, of definitions for that matter, which have emerged since that time."

Buck anticipates that the federal government will be compelled "to recognize the record of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion as an integral part of the record of Canadian arms".

## Revolutionaries

Vain hope! For the simple truth of the matter is that the volunteers of the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion were revolutionaries. The overwhelming majority were members or under the influence of the Communist Party already no longer revolutionary but completely Stalinized. Nonetheless they were socialists with arms in hand, out to avenge the defeat of the German

working class, to beat fascism, and to establish a workers' Spain.

From the profile or composite portrait established by Hoar from the existing records that cover 366 of their number, only 2 percent were under 20 years of age and 61.5 percent were over 30. According to Hoar, taking into account that many of them were landed immigrants or naturalized citizens, "The Canadian contingent represented a militant proletariat...many were already hardened veterans of radical movements in Europe..."

The Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which numbered among its sponsors the Reverend Salem G. Bland and CCF leader Graham Spry, never sought to recruit volunteer combatants — "this activity was the special charge of the Communist Party of Canada."

According to an interview that Hoar had with Spry, chairman of the Ontario CCF executive committee, this was an agreed upon division of labor. Spry took his place as chairman of the Spanish Aid Committee "in personal response to the horror in Spain, but also in order to



Henry Scott Beattie

safeguard the interests, political and humanitarian, of the CCF." The CCF "asserted its belief in humanitarian assistance and to this end was instrumental in sending Dr. Norman Bethune abroad," writes Hoar.

On the other hand, the Communist party, according to Spry, was given the go-ahead, "though not through the offices of the Committee" to recruit

→ to page 2



# in Canada's history

volunteers as this activity "did not appeal to most CCFers and which was completely contrary to the pacifist wing represented by party leader J.S. Woodsworth, to the isolationist wing represented by quite a number of academics in the CCF and which ran generally against the non-violent program or attitude of most CCF members." It took the Second Imperialist World War for the CCF leadership, from the isolationist wing to the pacifist wing, to overcome the scruples which they so squeamishly demonstrated over Spain.

What were the conditions for recruitment of volunteers that the Communist Party laid down to those persons it placed in charge? To be sure there were many recruited to the Mac-Paps who were not already members of the CP, although their potential for membership must have had considerable weight.

## Trotskyists Screened Out

According to Hoar's research there were two categories that were vigorously screened out — "a member of the RCMP or an adherent of the disgraced Trotsky." Later he quotes entrusted CPer Peter Hunter with regard to his and YCL leader Paul Phillips' search "for RCMP officers and Trotskyites; as Hunter put it 'we didn't know which we hated the most'."

They were not too successful in



**NORMAN BETHUNE.** Canadian doctor pioneered work in battlefield blood transfusion in Spain and until his death in China. In one letter from Madrid, Bethune inadvertently revealed his liberal pacifist views, and recorded degeneration of Spanish revolution, prior to the Stalinist-Popular Front's physical destruction of left and collapse before Franco's armies: "I sent you last month, 25 posters and will send more. These posters are wonderful artistic efforts. The whole city is covered with them. They stress, as you see, Anti-Fascism, not Anarchism, Socialism or Communism. More and more every day, all parties are becoming united under the realization of the war against international fascist aggression."

screening out RCMPers. One Mac-Pap testified to Hoar that a volunteer who died in Spain was either an active RCMP officer or a former officer. Strange to say Hoar doesn't pursue the matter of Trotskyism although the nature of his book, which contains extensive, researched interviews with volunteers, required him to do so.

Among "the first five volunteers dispatched from Canada" he lists one Henry Scott Beattie. Later Hoar notes that Beattie "came back" to Toronto, while the war raged on, where he states Beattie "apparently engaged in a public denunciation of the Republican effort

and the assistance from the left that was being organized." Hoar continues; "The Friends described him as mounting 'disruptive activities against Spain.' The Daily Clarion (which Hoar describes elsewhere as "a political organ of the left" but which was in reality the press of the Communist Party) dismissed him as "a Trotskyist."

Hoar too dismissed Beattie. Beattie presented his experiences and views at some length in an interview with the leading Toronto Telegram columnist C.B. Pyper, in an extensive letter to the well-known Canadian Forum in April

→ to page 3





**MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALION.** Members of machine gun squad.

1938, which stirred up quite a controversy in subsequent pages and elsewhere. Hoar also failed to note the extremely illuminating reminiscences of the now well-established Canadian novelist Hugh Garner that appeared in the Toronto Star Weekly Magazine and which are in stark contrast to the some three pages of atmosphere prose by Garner that he does reproduce. He doesn't even mention William Krehm, a Canadian revolutionary socialist who went to Spain and was imprisoned by the Valencia authorities for 10 weeks, and whose pamphlet *Spain: Revolution and Counter-Revolution* is in the Toronto Reference library along with other Mackenzie-Papineau battalion archives. Overlooked also are the informed articles by the well-known journalist and author Pierre Van Passen, that appeared in the Toronto Daily Star over that period.

#### A Suppressed Chapter

Henry Scott Beattie didn't "come back", he was brought back. He explained this in a response to Daily Clarion attacks against him and an attack by its correspondent Ted Alan who charged that "he must be mentally unbalanced." Beattie wrote: "But apparently the Communist party both here and in Spain did not share his (Alan's) opinion when they chose me in preference to all other 700 Canadians as their first propagandist here. Nor would they have made me honorary vice-president of the much prized Tim Buck Club or appointed me youth organizer in

the east end of the city if they had considered me mentally unbalanced."

In this letter, not published of course by the Clarion, Beattie replies to Alan's smear that he was attacking his former comrades. "I realize the boys I was fighting with in the trenches really believe that they are assisting the Spanish people and that they are dying for their ideals. On the other hand I believe that the Communist party and the (Popular Front) Government are sabotaging their struggle and are attempting to patch things up with the fascists."

Beattie explained his refusal to play the role for which the Communist party had brought him back to Canada. Among other things he said he was "coached to make certain statements about the Trotskyists, for example 'Trotskyites who stab wounded soldiers on crutches in the back,' — and this despite the fact that while I was in Spain I had never seen or spoken to a Trotskyist." He also said that since his return "I have had the opportunity for the first time to think over my experiences and to examine the international press, both labor and bourgeois."

He told Telegram reporter Pyper, "I am for the workers' cause in Spain. The victory of Franco would be a catastrophe... It is because I want to help the Spanish working class that I am giving this interview. The truth is necessary in order to help them combat the reaction which is taking place behind the lines and which is weakening their struggle against Franco."

Beatty revealed that he had been a CP member before going to Spain. Referring to his fellow volunteers he said "we had enlisted with the understanding we were to fight not simply against Franco but for a socialist revolution in Spain."

"When I first came to Spain," Beatty wrote in the Canadian Forum, "we volunteers from the Americas were welcomed and identified with the real revolutionary spirit which was strong and vibrant in the country.... By June, however, when I was wounded and invalided through various hospitals to Albacete, things had greatly altered. In the first place I found that International Brigadiers were so unpopular with the average Spaniard that a (Communist) Party functionary ordered me in the train to remove my badges; in restaurants or parks when I tried to begin conversations with civilians with the explanation that I was 'a Communist' I was greeted with black looks and prompt isolation."

"My party had gained in membership, certainly, but it was a gain among the business classes on the Loyalist side, and at the expense of the common

→ to page 4



Page 4 of 4

people. In Murcia and elsewhere I saw that our placards and leaflets appealed for shopkeepers' membership with the promise of absolute support of private property. Gradually I learned that this was no mere trick of propaganda. Anyone inside or outside our party who was openly against the protection of private capital was in danger of arrest by our own secret police!"

"Despite the censorship, rumours reached us too that our Party leaders were supporting the Government in depriving anarchist peasants of their land cooperatives, turning the farms back into state or even private capital. Then after May, there was talk of a joint attack by our Party and (Spanish Premier) Caballero's own troops upon rival workers' parties in Barcelona. Officially we were told that 'Trotskyites' had tried a coup for Franco there; but the unofficial story was that the POUM (semi-Trotskyite -H.B.) and the Anarchists had been attacked, their leaders assassinated, or jailed, and hundreds killed in the streets, in a forcible restoration of factories from workers' control into private capital again.

"In the trenches you couldn't find out which story was true; if you showed too much interest you were arrested. But in hospital I met three survivors of the Garibaldi Battalion. They told me that their battalion had been kept in the trenches for three months without leave, because they had heard these rumors too and had refused, when ordered to march against their comrades in Barcelona....

#### C.P. betrayed revolution

"I left Spain convinced that our Spanish policy was nothing less than a betrayal. Caballero was given Communist Party support to crush the mass parties of the Spanish workers and farmers, in order that the war against Franco might be made respectable and Spanish capitalism preserved. When Caballero proved too mild, the CP threw him out and put in that openly-confessed defender of private people, Negrin. The jails of Loyalist Spain overflow with loyal fighters of fascism who are not also loyal fighters for capitalism. The masses know it; they never had faith in the Popular Front government and they have hatred now. It was not the Government which stopped Franco in the first place, but the self-armed, rank-and-file socialists, anarchists, and POUM-ites; they halted the fascists,



CANADIANS IN SPAIN. In trenches at Teruel.

after the Popular (Front) army and air force walked over to Franco, with the arms that they had stored for a future socialist revolution. The Communist Party has helped to push that day even farther into the future.

"I left Spain with one illusion — that the Communist International was unaware of the betrayals of its Spanish section. Arrived in Canada, I found here too, that I was required to disseminate lying endorsements of the counter-revolutionary role of the Spanish Communist Party."

It is Hoar's lack of a class analysis, his petty bourgeois concept of the whole Spanish civil war, that allows him to present an essentially Stalinist version but at the same time lard onto it such completely unintegrated and thereby quite incomprehensible though accurate comments — "the Soviet leaders knew that fierce revolutionary interest in the Spanish Republic might, in the course of the war, or as a consequence of victory, attempt a proletarian dictatorship. Such a revolt could only embarrass Moscow for it would immediately turn away the moderates who would assume that the

only alternative to Spanish fascism was communist revolution; and the Russians weren't willing to support a revolution in Europe at this time." And another observation with regard to the political commissars in the International Brigades — that "the ideology they advocated was, however, not so much Marxist as liberal-social. Everyone knew that the commissars were expected to be party members, but the 'education' these men passed on was not hard-line Marxism so much as the moderate politics of the Spanish Republic. (Remember that the Comintern did not seek to provoke proletarian revolution in Spain at this time.)"

If he had come to grips with Beattie's evidence and that of Garner, Krehm and Van Passen, Hoar might have solved this monstrous contradiction in his book. And he might have besides rendered the service of providing all the essential facts and not just a partial and quite unbalanced record for what is yet to be written — the definitive history of Canadian participation in the Spanish civil war.



# Mass action strategy centers on NDP

by ROSS DOWSON

Everything points to the assault against the Waffle, launched by Stephen Lewis on behalf of the right wing Ontario NDP provincial executive, blowing up in his face. It now appears certain that the top brass of the party will fail to convince the majority at the coming assembly of the provincial council in Orillia to proscribe the left wing forces organized in the Waffle.

In and of itself this will constitute a colossal blow to the authority of the Lewis leadership, and to the authority of the NDP leadership right across the country. It will convince thousands of NDPers whose participation in the party has been largely limited to voting NDP, helping to build up the odd rally for official party spokespersons, handing over a few dollars for a membership, or attending an annual constituency association meeting, that political action on their own behalf requires a far greater knowledge and far greater involvement.

If the Waffle — composed of a wide range of opinion from left social democrat, to revolutionary socialist, to ultraleft, and shadings in between — plays its cards right, it can turn what is already a defeat for the right wing into a real victory for the left.

Already to its credit the Waffle has not fallen for Lewis' redbaiting. It has given nothing to the executive's crude attempt

to get it to turn in on itself with a witchhunt in its own ranks. It has presented a united front against the right wing.

As the leadership began to sense its complete misestimation of the temper of the party membership, it tried to save face by floating the trial balloon of affiliate status for Waffle. But it seems clear that the key forces in Waffle understand that the corollary to the acceptance of such a status is the banning of the right of caucuses to exist within the NDP itself. Acceptance by Waffle would mean that henceforth any left formation that might develop in the NDP constituency associations would be faced with the demand from the brass that it shut up, or that it too accept affiliate status.

It is inevitable in such a situation that some elements will try to draw a balance sheet, if not of the whole NDP experience, of a part of this experience — possibly, by in effect, dumping the present struggle for democracy in the party — by escalating the demands of the struggle.

One of the chief characteristics of sectarians, in the flush of first success, no matter the objective limitations of the situation, is to project themselves, in an infantile and vanguardist way, far out in front by dreaming up new demands. Success makes them uncomfortable. They equate leadership with isolation. Since, like a visitation from above, new

things have been revealed to THEM, they think when and if they rouse themselves to see farther than their own comfortable circles, that the masses with themselves as the medium, are only waiting to hear the message.

The main challenge before the Waffle is to take full advantage of the situation created by the provincial executive to not only defend its rights to remain in the party, but to deepen its connections in every level of the movement — in the constituency associations, which up until now has not been its direction, and to establish serious connections in the trade unions, which cannot be done by the firecracker politics of the Texpack campaign, but only by serious work in the movement that flows into the trade union base of the party.

The NDP will not carry through the liberatory socialist transformation of this country, with or without the Lewis' (but whose leadership of the NDP is of course by no means accidental). However that does not settle the question of the NDP.

Even though it is narrowly parliamentarist, and non-action oriented — being the political, or the generalized expression of the radical discontent of the Canadian working class, the NDP remains the focal point of all mass action.

The socialist revolution is not going to be won by the good deeds of a person or even groups of persons of unchallengeable purity and will, established in what might be considered to be key posts or key sectors of power. It will only be won by the masses themselves moving into the arena of struggle. The revolution requires mass actions — actions of the masses. Socialists, revolutionists require a mass action

→ to page 2 & 3





photo by Jeff White

MASS MOVEMENTS CENTER ON NDP. Antiwar activists in NDP forced leadership to back mass protests against war. Here delegates to 1971 federal convention join demonstration sponsored by Ottawa Vietnam Mobilization Committee. Addressing rally is outgoing NDP leader T.C. Douglas.

> to page 3



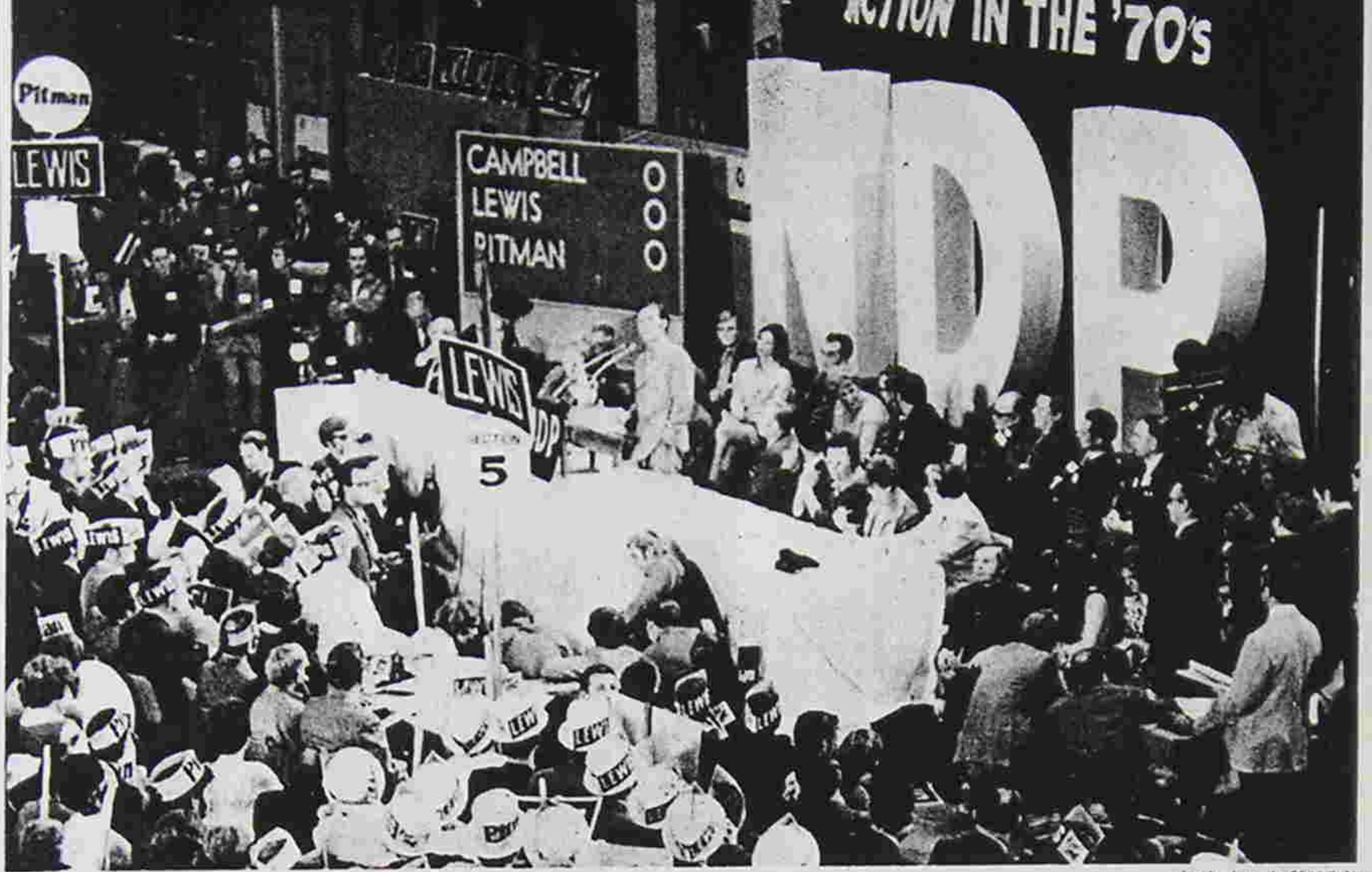


photo by Jeff White

**ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION, 1970.** Stephen Lewis, newly-elected leader, addresses convention.

strategy.

The heightened militancy of Quebec nationalism, the recent phenomenon of Canadian nationalism that has been generated by the U.S. ruling class' imperialism of Canada, opposition to Ottawa's complicity in the war in Vietnam, women's liberation, the radicalization of the student youth, have all developed organized structures of their own. Fresh forces have been mobilized in new and varied forms of action — largely in the streets, addressing themselves to the public at large. Each and every form of this new radicalization, while directing itself at some particularized part of the power structure, inevitably tends to focus in on the power structure as a whole and poses the need for the masses to take the power into their own hands.

The NDP has not initiated the mobilization of these forces. And unfortunately up until now the Waffle leadership has done little to identify with them, let alone take them into the NDP — although the Waffle itself is a reflection of this new radicalization in the NDP. Nonetheless since it is coun-

terposed to the political parties of the capitalist class, in so far as these forms of radicalization generalize their experiences and project themselves to any change in the power structure, they center on the NDP. The NDP is where politics, where mass politics, are at in Canada — and for the whole next period.

The NDP is the mass political expression of independent working class politics. And any radical not in the NDP, and or not in the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, a league of revolutionary socialists who give unconditional though critical support to the NDP, is totally ineffectual in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

The Waffle must not let itself be conned into any proposition such as affiliate status that would place it on the periphery of the NDP. It must seize every opportunity to even more firmly establish itself as the broad left wing of the NDP.



# British labor upsurge reverses Tory offensive

by ROSS DOWSON

The British Tory government's drive to cripple then smash the mighty 11-million strong British trade union movement through its repressive Industrial Relations Act, and the special court set up to enforce it, suffered three staggering setbacks this month.

Just last month the court fined the 1.7 million-member Transport and General Workers Union \$140,000 for contempt of court after its top officials failed to stop Liverpool dockworkers from boycotting certain trucking companies. The court found the union officials responsible for the unofficial actions led by shop stewards, and moved in to cop the union's treasury.

This month the appeal court overruled the Industrial Relations Court and ordered it to return the fine. Its decision challenged the key argument used to justify the imposition of the union-busting act. The leading spokesmen of the British capitalist class sought, through the act they said, not to crush the union movement as such, but merely to block "irresponsible" unionism — to curtail the authority of the shop stewards which the top union officialdom seemed unable to do. The appeal court however recognized that the shop stewards derive their power from the union rank and file and are not "agents" of the official



BRITISH WORKERS mobilize against Heath's antilabor bill.

leadership of the union.

On top of that came the results of the ballot vote that was imposed through the Industrial Relations Act on the railway workers to cripple their struggle for a wage increase. The government-imposed vote was a crude attempt to encourage weaker elements in the union to capitulate

and to line them up against the leadership who were allegedly responsible for the intransigence of the ranks, conducting a work-to-rule struggle to win their demands. The vote ran six to one in support of the leadership, and the government was forced to capitulate by granting a 13 percent wage increase.

On June 16 three dockworkers prepared for their incarceration in Pentonville prison. They had been arrested for contempt of court — for refusing to submit to an Industrial Relations Court order to end their and fellow workers' picketing of one of the largest container depots in England. The picket was in protest against the containerization revolution that is being used to ruthlessly eliminate thousands of jobs and destroy union conditions on the docks.

The three dockworkers would have been the first to be arrested and imprisoned under the Industrial Relations Act. But when some 35,000 dockers struck as the three were turning themselves in, the government through its solicitor-general asked the appeal court to have the Industrial Relations court order set



JAILING OF BRITISH UNION LEADERS BLOCKED. Bernie Steer, Vic Turner and Alan Williams (far right).

→ To page 2





aside. With the government's retreat, the strike, which was threatening to mount into a showdown battle between the unions and the state, has ebbed back.

Even pusillanimous Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe, felt called upon to warn that "the events of this week could have led to a general strike," and to express the hope that "the government has had a very bad fright" and will revert to cooling the situation through a policy of co-partnership and work councils.

Just 15 months ago, as he moved the third reading that made the Industrial Relations Bill law, Secretary of State Robert Carr, soberly addressing himself to boards of directors and top management, warned that "any employer who imagines this bill will remove problems and reduce responsibility is greatly mistaken."

When the Heath government commenced to carry out the various processes to make it law, the Bill provoked the most massive organized demonstrations of opposition from the British workers that had been seen since the 1926

General Strike. A year ago February 21, saw 140,000 jam Trafalgar Square in the biggest organized demonstration ever staged in Britain. This was followed by widespread one-day strike action.

Carr's restrained observation was in recognition of the fact that while there has been no lack of determination on the part of the ruling class to solve the continuing and increasing difficulties of their economy, at the expense of the working class — they have not by any means been able to inflict a decisive blow that would change the relationship of forces against the British working class — perhaps the most highly organized and class conscious working class in the world.

True, the Tories were able to defuse last years' struggle which appeared to be building up to such a scope that it could have forced them to withdraw the bill. The Victor Feather wing of the Trades Union Congress brass played their game with its policy of "compliance but no cooperation." Even its face-saving gesture of non-registration under the act has been exposed by the TUC general council's recent decision to allow unions to defend themselves before the Industrial Relations Court.

This consistent default of the union leadership may have emboldened Prime Minister Heath when speaking on the eve of the rail ballot to an assembly of party supporters in Luton Hoo. Punching the air with his fist, he threatened: "But let no one ask this government to surrender. If there is anyone who still imagines that they can for political purposes, pick an easy fight with us, I must warn them; You've come to the wrong place. You're wasting your time."

The simple truth is that the Tory anti-labor drive along with the continuing rising cost of living has only served to embolden the British working class, drawing new elements into the struggle which have every possibility of forging the type of leadership that can establish a labor and socialist Britain.



# Minority splits from LSA/LSO

by ROSS DOWSON

*Executive secretary, LSA-LSO*

On the eve of its pan-Canadian convention and in the midst of the pre-convention discussion, three members of the Unified Tendency in Montreal have split from the League for Socialist Action - Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Best known of the three is Michel Mill, whom the LSO ran as its candidate in a by-election in Bagot, in December 1968. Heading up a tendency at the 1970 LSA-LSO convention Mill was elected as its representative to the Central Committee. On the international report at that convention the tendency's voting delegate abstained, but the tendency's statement defining the area of its abstention put it in support of the report's position on both Latin America and on China and the cultural revolution.

Since then, along with others, the Montreal tendency widened the area of their definition with the submission to the pre-convention discussion of five documents including one on Latin America and another on Quebec.

These documents were being

discussed in the LSA-LSO and arrangements were being made for their spokespersons to present their views through the branches when the Montreal grouping of the Unified Tendency bolted.

This splitting action follows on the heels of a whole series of incidents which are now clearly revealed to have been attempts to provoke the leadership of the League into taking disciplinary actions against them in order to uphold the norms of a serious revolutionary organization.

Last summer the tendency went so far as to formally declare a boycott of Liberation, the monthly paper that reflects the views of the LSO. In the last year they publicly violated the LSO's policy on building the anti-Vietnam war movement and its strategy in the women's liberation movement — and to top it off they have not paid their minimal constitutional dues since December.

Throughout the recent upsurge in Quebec, with the general strike of the public employees and the radicalization of the three labor federations, during which the LSO was straining every nerve to par-

ticipate in and intervene in the struggle with its views, they absented themselves. They presented no opinion as to how the LSO should respond and in no way aided the LSO in its intervention. They attended no league meetings all during April, May, and June.

The leadership of the LSA-LSO did not react to these flagrant provocations, in an attempt to assure that a full discussion of any and all questions in dispute could take place, unencumbered by organizational and disciplinary disputes.

However its restraint has proved to have been completely in vain. By their own volition the three, and nine supporters in the Montreal Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes-Young Socialists, have placed themselves outside and in opposition to the Canadian Trotskyist movement and thereby in opposition to the world-wide Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International.

With this split they have violated the highest principle — the unity of the world-wide forces of Trotskyism.



# LABOR TO POWER WITH THE NDP!

labor

AUGUST, 1972

10 cents

## Challenge

By JOAN NEWBIGGING

Vancouver organizer

League for Socialist Action

Labor to power with the NDP!  
This is the main issue in the election.

The opportunity now exists to get rid of the Social Credit government that has run this province for 20 years in the interests of the giant corporations that plunder B.C.'s resources and labor — and to elect an NDP government, paving the way toward solving some of the fundamental problems facing the working people of British Columbia.

All the efforts of the Madison Avenue public relations experts hired by Premier Bennett cannot paper over the scars and sores that cover the life of this province. The almost 100,000 unemployed. The closure of such vibrant communities as Elk Falls and Ocean Falls to suit the profit interests of the giant forest corporations. The massive cutbacks in education spending which make education in B.C. a privilege, not a right. The antilabor legislation that has robbed B.C. workers of some of their most fundamental rights. The brutal police harassment of the native people, exposed anew through the Fred Quilt case. The scandalous pollution of B.C.'s rivers, shoreline and air by the giant wood, oil and mining companies.

That's the record of the Social Credit government, as it has worked hand in glove with successive Liberal and Tory governments in Ottawa to preserve and extend the interests of MacMillan Bloedel, Crown Zellerbach, Cominco — all the vast Canadian and foreign-owned corporations that dominate the life of this province.

The provincial Liberals and Tories with their "new young images" are no alternative to the Socreds. Like their federal counterparts, they are just another slick version of big business rule.

It is the New Democratic Party, backed by the powerful forces of organized labor, that is the only alternative in this election.

In contrast to the three big business parties, the NDP has opposed Bennett's antilabor laws, attacked his policies which promote unemployment, spoken out against the education cutbacks, backed the right of women to abortion facilities and child care centers, and supported the antiwar movement

and last fall's anti-Amchitka bomb protest.

Because the NDP is rooted in the working class and speaks to their needs it has become the focus for the growing discontent that is spreading through the province.

During the recent cabinet tour, Bennett and his ministers were confronted with demonstrations in at least 15 towns and cities from Prince Rupert to White Rock. The pickets pinpointed some of the key issues before us now in the election campaign — the use of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, the arrogance of the big lumber companies, threat of pollution to B.C.'s environment.

No wonder Bennett says he

### What the NDP stands for

Collective bargaining rights for all workers, teachers and government employees... banning of ex parte and anti-labor injunctions... repeal of Bill 33 and other anti-labor legislation.  
Women's rights... repeal of anti-abortion laws... equal pay for equal work... free 24-hour community child care centers.  
The right to a job... against plant shutdowns... for a policy of full employment.

won't publicize his campaign schedule in advance! He knows there's a powerful movement growing against his government — and that it's headed toward the NDP.

And yet the NDP campaign is not addressing itself firmly and confidently to this challenge. NDP leader Dave Barrett has touched on some of the main issues — unemployment and the resources give-away — but has failed to pose any real answers, even playing down many that are contained in the NDP's program, as adopted by the membership in convention.

Instead of pinpointing Social Credit antilabor laws as a central issue, Barrett has backed away from firm support for labor. During the bitter three-month construction dispute, Barrett, instead of identifying with the unions' case, stated that he "regretted" that large-scale RCMP raids on the union headquarters were "necessary" (!). See page 4

**CHALLENGE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.** Trade unionists fighting antilabor laws; women struggling for repeal of anti-abortion laws; students who demonstrated 12,000-strong against the Amchitka nuclear bomb last fall — all these forces can come together in campaign to kick Socreds out and elect NDP to power at Victoria





# LSA-LSO elects new exec. secretary

by GARY PORTER

Revolutionary socialists from across Canada met in Toronto September 2-4 in a plenary conference of the Central Committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA-LSO).

The conference, bringing together leaders of the Canadian Trotskyist movement from Quebec and five provinces, worked out action plans for the coming months and prepared for a convention to be held in January.

Three days of intensive discussion were concluded with the election of a new executive secretary. Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the Canadian Trotskyist movement for 28 years, stood aside from the post and nominated John Riddell as the new executive secretary. Ross Dowson was chosen as cross-Canada chairman of the LSA-LSO.

The conference opened with a report on the international situation by Arthur Young. Explaining the gravity of Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese

revolution, he underlined the urgency of building a mass movement to support the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination by demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Young reported on the growth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, and on the important discussion now underway in its ranks.

Gary Porter, organizational secretary of the LSA-LSO, outlined the League's plans for intervention in a wide range of campaigns over the coming months. His report reflected the LSA-LSO's growing strength and influence in a range of movements for social change. In addition to stressing the importance of the antiwar movement, he outlined campaigns to build actions for women's liberation, for the rights of the French language in Quebec, and to support the growing left caucus formations in the NDP. He also projected an ambitious drive to increase circulation of socialist periodicals and publications across the country in the fall period.

The election of John Riddell as executive secretary of the LSA-LSO is an important step in the process of a new generation assuming central responsibility for the leadership of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

The LSA-LSO has grown rapidly since the early 1960s, and particularly in the past five years, building its ranks with recruits from the rising wave of a new radicalization in English Canada and Quebec.

After a lengthy period of reaction in which revolutionary socialists could do little more than preserve their cadres and program, and make

slow and painful gains, a new generation of revolutionaries began to emerge, seeking to link up with the historic program of Marxism incorporated today in the Trotskyist movement.

Substantial reinforcements came to the LSA-LSO, eager to learn from the experience and knowledge of past generations of revolutionaries, as contained in the program and cadres of the Trotskyist movement. With the growing incorporation of these forces in the LSA-LSO's leadership, a transition of leadership began, to a new generation.

John Riddell, the new executive secretary, joined the LSA-LSO in 1961, when this radicalization was in its preparatory stage. He played a leading role in the early '60s in organizing the student antiwar movement, in working in the student New Democratic Party, and promoting the defense of the Cuban revolution.

In 1965 he was elected executive secretary of the Young Socialists, the Canadian Trotskyist youth movement, and the following year he was their candidate for election to the Toronto board of education. In 1969 he was the League for Socialist Action's candidate for mayor of Toronto. The following year he became editor of Labor Challenge.

Ross Dowson's role as chairman is indicative of the continuity in the LSA-LSO's leadership, a continuity extending back 40 years to the inception of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, continuing the struggle initiated by the founding of the Canadian Communist party in 1921.



JOHN RIDDELL. Newly-elected executive-secretary of LSA-LSO was Toronto mayoralty candidate in 1969.

For thirty years of this 40 year history, Ross Dowson has played the central leadership role in the Canadian Trotskyist movement. Coming to Trotskyism in the '30s, he led the Trotskyists in regrouping and reorganizing after they were driven underground because of their opposition to the imperialist Second World War.

Dowson was several times candidate in municipal and federal elections, winning 23,000 votes as Trotskyist candidate for mayor of Toronto at the peak of the postwar labor upsurge.

Executive secretary of the Trotskyist organization since 1944, he led it in resisting the years of McCarthyite witchhunt and reac-

tion, and in regearing to take advantage of the new opportunities presented by the launching of the NDP and by the youth radicalization which opened up in the 1960s.

As chairman, Ross Dowson will continue to play a key role in the central leadership of the LSA-LSO.

The conference concluded by projecting a cross-Canada convention for the month of January, a convention which will conclude an extended period of internal discussion, register the LSA-LSO's gains both in its major campaigns and in the strengthening of its leadership, and decide on the political questions governing its work over the coming period.





# Trotsky: his life, his relevance today

The following is the text of a speech by Ross Dowson, chairman of the League for Socialist Action - Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, at a meeting commemorating the 32nd anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky. The

→ To page 2



meeting was held under the auspices of the Toronto Vanguard Forum Sept. 1. Dowson's speech was a major portion of a half hour program on the forum filmed for showing this month by CITY-TV (Channel 79) on the program "Catch 79." The introductory comments are by Kathleen Dalton, organizer of the Toronto Young Socialists, who chaired the meeting.

## KATHLEEN DALTON

The occasion of tonight's Vanguard Forum is the anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky, who was along with Lenin, leader of the October, 1917 Russian revolution. On Aug. 20, some 32 years ago, Trotsky was brutally murdered in Mexico by an undercover henchman, commissioned by Stalin, then head of the Soviet state. The assassin for months sought out ways to win Trotsky's confidence as a friend and ally only to subsequently savagely and fatally plunge an ice pick into the back of Trotsky's neck.

The assassination of Trotsky by Stalin was a political act. Trotsky stood opposed to the politics of Stalin and was

determined to wage a political campaign against Stalinism. Trotsky was against Stalin's amassing of power and privileges for a small bureaucratic layer. Trotsky fought to preserve the ideals that the Russian revolution was fought for — for freedom, for democratic decision-making by all citizens, and the building of a planned socialist economy run in the interests of the Soviet population.

Yes. Stalin succeeded in ending Trotsky's life. But did Stalin succeed in his real purpose — the purpose of smashing opposition political positions represented by Trotsky?

Despite a fanatical campaign by Stalin that reached all corners of the globe — including not only Trotsky's assassination but also the banning of Trotsky's name and writings and the portrayal of Trotsky as an enemy of Lenin and the Russian revolution — Stalin did not succeed in wiping out Trotskyism.

In fact, today it is Stalin whom young politicals disdain and scorn. And it is to Trotskyism — to the parties of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky in 1938 — that more and more people are being won. Trotskyism is more well known and in that sense more alive today than it was during the last part of Trotsky's life. History is proving the correctness of the politics of Leon

Trotsky. On May 16, 1971, 35,000 European youth marched under the banner of Trotskyism as represented by the Fourth International in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871 — the first occasion in the world that workers took power into their own hands. There is a great demand for Trotsky's writing today, with publishing houses rushing to print his books. Even Hollywood is getting into the act — responding to Trotsky's popularity by releasing a feature film, starring none other than Richard Burton as Trotsky.

Why this renewed interest in Trotskyist politics? Where does it stem from? To answer these questions I introduce our speaker Ross Dowson.

## ROSS DOWSON

Tonight's meeting is taking place only a matter of hours following the election of the first NDP government in the province of British Columbia. According to the jubilant NDP leader this marks the beginning of a "people's century" in B.C.

Without underwriting Mr. Barrett's promise, this victory is indeed gratifying to the League for Socialist Action, which adheres to and propagates the ideas first systematically developed by Karl Marx, applied by Lenin, and extended by Leon Trotsky to all the major problems of our epoch.

Of all the tendencies on the left, only that which identifies itself with Trotsky called for and campaigned for an NDP victory. The headline of the special supplement of the August issue of Labor Challenge circulated in thousands of copies throughout B.C. read "LABOR TO POWER WITH THE NDP."

But while it is based on the unions, the NDP is a "make-capitalism-work," reformist party. The key slogan of the B.C. campaign was the completely vacuous "Enough is Enough," and any identification with the harassed union movement was studiously avoided by the NDP leadership. Perhaps you witnessed the TV showing of the victory celebration at the NDP headquarters, when the new premier fatuously praised the retiring Social Credit government and W.A.C. Bennett, causing his campaigners to jeer and laugh.

What could this have to do with the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, murdered now some 32 years ago?

## REVOLUTION

According to Trotsky, Canada needs to undergo a profound social change, a revolution in fact. In general terms, this

# By Leon Trotsky

All of Trotsky's published works are available at Vanguard Bookstores, including:

**LEON TROTSKY SPEAKS** — an anthology covering his life from leading the 1905 Russian Revolution to building the Fourth International. \$3.80  
1905 — a first-hand account and analysis of the "dress rehearsal" for 1917. \$3.25

**THE YOUNG LENIN** — A biographical masterpiece — a study of the youth of the founder of the Bolshevik Party. \$9.50

**MY LIFE** — Trotsky's autobiography, written in exile from the USSR. Introduction by Joseph Hansen, who served as Trotsky's secretary in Mexico. \$4.35

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY** — Trotsky was the first to see the danger of fascism, and presented the only possible strategy to defeat it. \$4.35

**THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION** — Why did the first workers revolution take place in backward Russia, not in Western Europe? Trotsky predicted it and explained it. \$2.70

**ON WOMEN AND THE FAMILY** — The Soviet government under Lenin and Trotsky led the world in establishing equality for women. Only under Stalin was this program reversed. 90 cents

**MARXISM IN OUR TIME** — Have the predictions of Marx and Engels been disproven? Is Marxism still valid in the twentieth century? 75 cents.

## VANGUARD BOOKSTORES

Vancouver: 1208 Granville, 688-5924; Toronto: 334 Queen Street West, 364-5908; Montreal: 226 est. Ste-Catherine, 861-3028

mail orders welcome — payment must accompany order

→ to page 3



flows from the objective situation confronting the Canadian working people — that Canada is capitalist — that the productive plant and natural resources of the country are under private ownership and are utilized for the exploitation of the many, and for the private profit of the few who hold legal title to them.

This fact — that Canada is capitalist — is leading to the closure or partial shutdown by their owners of several plants in the Toronto area right now, with calloused disposal of thousands of



**ROSS DOWSON.** Chairman, League for Socialist Action Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere

workers who have spent a considerable portion of the most productive years of their life running these plants. This has led to a government policy of planned unemployment. Ottawa's experts promised that this discriminatory waste of human labor power, forced upon some of us, would help all of us, by cooling the flames of inflation which are ceaselessly cutting into all of our living standards. But now we have large scale unemployment which in some sectors of the country, those sectors already the most depressed, has reached almost 12 per cent of the work force — and inflation continues to rate on.

Because the entire state apparatus of Canada is committed to the preservation of capitalism, the Trudeau government serves as powder-monkey and chief political front for the current U.S. imperialist assault, with the most fiendish instruments of death and destruction, on the people of Vietnam. Their crime? — the Vietnamese are daring to carry out that revolution within their own country.

The crying need is for the Canadian people to take in their collective name that which they have created and shaped through their collective efforts, and

produce, according to a plan which they themselves decide upon, all the goods and services which they consider are useful for themselves.

#### WAR MEASURES ACT

The Canadian ruling class and their U.S. capitalist partners in the exploitation of this country and its resources, stand athwart this next progressive leap forward. And they are prepared to utilize any means they think necessary to stop this process. How else can one understand the events of two years ago last October? Then, blandly bypassing the entire parliamentary process, a tiny handful of men, with a few strokes of a pen, suspended from coast to coast every democratic right that has been established in decades of costly struggle — through the enforcement of the War Measures Act. Troops were rushed in to impose military rule on the province of Quebec and occupy the largest city in the country — Montreal. Over 500 persons were brutally seized and held in prison, with the authorities upon their release admitting there were no grounds whatsoever for their incarceration.

It would seem obvious that to carry out the great and progressive changes visualized by Trotsky, we need a revolutionary party. How is that party to be built?

#### LABOR PARTY

Trotsky, in discussions with his North American co-thinkers, saw a labor party developing out of the trade unions as an important step forward by the workers. By organizing on political lines, the working people would be addressing themselves not to individual capitalists but to the capitalists as a class, organized in the state. The labor party provides a broad arena for the maturing of the working class to meet the challenges before it. It is only through their own experiences that the workers as a class can come to an understanding of the tasks before them. The NDP provides an arena — where the program for the social transformation can be argued out, and where important forces necessary to realize it can be gathered together. The Trotskyists are convinced that in the conflict of ideas the correct ones will win.

Confidence in the masses is the very cornerstone of Trotsky's thought: that they will, on the basis of their own experience, come to the correct ideas; that they will forge the instrument that will consummate the great socialist transformation of Canada, and indeed the entire world.

The supreme confidence may sound strange when you consider that for the last 16 or more years of his life, after having been with Lenin the most respected leader of the world forces of socialist revolution, Trotsky became a pariah, driven out of the Soviet Union and then from country to country with only a scattering of supporters.

It is perhaps his struggle — at times his voice seemed to be the sole one, protesting the destruction of the popular organs of socialist democracy, the Soviets; denouncing the privileged clique headed by Stalin that murdered Lenin's party in the monstrous frameup trials of the thirties; fighting the transformation of the parties of the Communist International from instruments of socialist revolution into servile pawns in the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist powers — it is perhaps Trotsky's heroic struggle that causes elements in the new wave of radicalizing youth to raise his photo as a banner to march behind in their demonstrations.

#### CONTRADICTIONS

With his image, along with that of Che Guevara and Rosa Luxemburg, they seek to demonstrate their own rejection of all that is adaptationist, conformist and opportunist, confronted by the massive contradictions that challenge us in modern capitalist society and demand resolution: the great technological application of atomic energy that

→ to page 4





promises freedom from drudgery and its prostitution to the military; the vast accumulation of medical knowledge and its subversion to profit; the incredible accumulation of goods and the continuation of abject want.

Trotsky is certainly worthy of the honor and respect of the new young radicals. But he was more than an incorruptible and inexhaustible spirit, he was a man of ideas. That is why no form of cultism can ever envelop Trotsky, whose ideas were sharpened against cultism, and why no sects to establish his proper place in history can coalesce. Trotsky is living history.

He always declared himself to be an orthodox Marxist. During his lifetime he defended all the basic tenets of Marxism with wit and produntity. At the same time his Marxism was tremendously innovative. In his early twenties, drawing on the experiences of the 1905 revolution in which he played a leading role, he developed his famous theory of the permanent revolution with which he was able to foresee the main line of development of and give direction to the next and successful 1917 revolution.

Trotsky was both a student of history and an active participant. In him theory and practice were brilliantly fused.

Armed with this theory, he was able to explain the periods of lull and setbacks in the struggle, to project the dynamics of change, and to prepare for them.

Trotsky explained the destruction of the Bolshevik forces, by the juggernaut of Stalinism, and his own isolation as chief advocate of Bolshevism, as not

→ to page 5

**TROTSKY'S THEORIES IN PRACTICE.** The theory of Permanent Revolution, advanced by Trotsky in 1905, showed that backward countries could not advance or win independence under capitalism, that a socialist revolution was needed. Russia, Cuba and Vietnam prove Trotsky's view.



being due to any inherent weakness in Bolshevism itself.

### BOLSHEVISM

Bolshevism, he explained in one of his writings, was only a political tendency, closely fused with the working class but not identical with the working class. Aside from the working class there were hundreds of thousands of peasants and various nationalities all weighed down with the economic and cultural backwardness of feudal Russia.

Bolshevism was only one of the factors of history — the conscious factor. It is a very important one — a key factor at the critical juncture, the explosion point, of the social transformation. But over the longer range, it is by no means the decisive factor. The decisive factor on the existing basis of productive forces was the class struggle, not only on a national scale but on an international scale.

In the process of the civil war, the struggle against the armies of intervention, the strain on the undeveloped and feeble productive forces of the new workers' republic, the famine and the destruction of key cadre, the masses became exhausted. The conquest of power by no means transformed the party of revolutionists into a sovereign ruler of the historic process. With the ebb of the class struggle, the Bolsheviks themselves became isolated and fell prey to the opportunist and degenerative process of Stalinism.

Some persons suggested that faced with the maneuvers of the Bonapartist clique headed by Stalin, Trotsky should

have used his prestige and connections with the Red Army that he had commanded, to carry out a coup against Stalin. Trotsky as a Marxist rejected this advice with the response that the dictator in the Kremlin would then have borne merely another name — that of Trotsky rather than Stalin. Stalin in his frameup of Lenin's co-workers in the infamous Moscow Trials accused Trotsky, as the master conspirator, of plotting the assassination of leading bureaucrats and the sabotage of the economy. Trotsky attacked this charge as a lie and defended the Leninist strategy which totally rejects individual terror and advances the strategy of mass action. It was this strategy that won the revolution and which would re-establish it.

### PRECIOUS INHERITANCE

Trotsky prepared for the revival of the class struggle through a titanic effort to rearm its future forces with the necessary theory. He did not live to see it, but he left a precious inheritance to us, who are experiencing its first thrusts.

It is the changed objective conditions on an international scale that have revived the class struggle. Since World War II, whole sections of the globe have been ripped out of the imperialist grasp, including Eastern European countries, China, Cuba. Now, despite the pressure of the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies upon them to make a deal, the heroic people of Vietnam are struggling doggedly to victory. The worldwide relationship of class forces has been undergoing favorable change. That is what underlies the rising struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet areas. With the great general strike of May 1968 in France, the industrial working class of an advanced capitalist country entered onto the arena.

What Trudeau has called a new mood of rising expectations has been developing in Canada over the past several years. Perhaps its most significant component is the rising sentiment in Quebec for national independence. In its vanguard, both in Quebec and English Canada, are the student youth. It encompasses anti-Vietnam-war activists, women's liberationists, tenants' organizations, Red Power formations, etc.

### TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

To this rising movement, Trotsky passed on a most precious inheritance — what he called the Transitional

Program. While written by Trotsky only two years before his death, it was prepared with the aid of co-thinkers across the world on the basis of their widely diverse experiences.

It is both a set of proposals and a method of approach aimed at mobilizing the masses for socialist action. It proceeds from the real situation that confronts the working people and the present level of experience and consciousness of the workers and other sectors of the oppressed, to take them forward, through the education they receive in the course of their struggles, to the realization of the need to take power.

Interestingly enough, only last week in the Toronto area, around the plea by a giant corporation that it cannot afford to grant wage increases that their striking workers are seeking in order to live, a demand that appears in the Transitional Program was publicly raised. The demand was that the corporation open up its books for examination by the striking employees. This the company has refused to do. What has the company to hide — exorbitant wages and special bonuses handed out to its executives? Hidden profits? Secret deals with interlocking companies that mask the true state of affairs? The rising number of plant closures across the country are making more pressing the need for the working people to establish their actual control of industry.

To be sure, Trotsky lives — for today we are in the age of the permanent revolution.